

## INTRODUCTION

101 claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the  
634 principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and  
101 Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions,  
634 but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present  
635 distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also  
known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the  
Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by  
refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following  
instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there  
614 are four clans representing genealogical not territorial  
divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The  
Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men  
all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with  
Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo  
loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

561 According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the  
[304] male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first  
stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed  
any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the  
case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circum-  
cised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said  
561 to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by  
884 a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the  
[302] Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their  
[291] hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders,  
[262] and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis),  
[276] go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk,  
and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxi-  
cants. They do not live with the married people, but in  
separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with  
whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition<sup>1</sup> (see  
p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were  
kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would  
let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has  
been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct  
physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the  
diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female  
morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when  
the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come  
into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease  
have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-  
seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden  
somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

<sup>1</sup> It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

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## INTRODUCTION

771 we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

764 The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas<sup>1</sup>, in the revoltingly uncereemonious way common to many East African tribes. [171] Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which 766 are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also 775 reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune 825 are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

761 As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight 759 or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for 463 all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manu- 564 factured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women.

[563] A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

701 It would appear that the military organization, the aversion 224 to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging 262 in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially 341 developed by the Masai, though some of them have been 171 imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the

[171] Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, 171 extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in 291 a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living 302 animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction. 304

516 Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler 262 and clearer information about the languages of the Nile 827 is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time 197 193

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

[P. 253]

L-ÖYETYANI LOO-L-MAASAE  
MASAI ENIGMAS

The propounder says, Oiyöta, Are you ready?

The others reply, E-äno, He has come (i.e. It is, or we are, ready).

No. 1. Aata 'l-muran lainei kumok, naa  
Enigma. I-have the-warriors my many, then  
en-geju nabo eitaashya  
the-leg one they-make-to-stand.

Reply. Ol-popoñgi.  
The-euphorbia-tree.

What do my warriors resemble when they stand on one leg?  
The euphorbia tree.

[Masai men often stand on one foot and rest the other against the knee<sup>1</sup>. When in this position they are supposed to resemble the *Candelabra euphorbia*, which Sir H. Johnston<sup>2</sup> has described as being 'like a gigantic cabbage or canliflower that has run to stalk, only to countless stalks, many-jointed, and of gouty thickness.']

No. 2. Aata 'l-muran lainei kumok, naa  
Enigma. I-have the-warriors my many, then  
öbo oipuñgöki 'n-gishu.  
one who-goes-out-to the-cattle.

Reply. Il-loom le-'ng-aji.  
The-rafters of-the-hut.

What are my warriors like? I have many of them, and one goes out to look after the cattle. The rafters of the hut.

[In Masai huts all the rafters are hidden except one which protrudes beyond the door. It is said to be watching the cattle.]

No. 3. Aata 'l-muran lainei, nemetii  
Enigma. I-have the-warriors my, and-it-is-not-there  
ol-le-bata.  
the-of-and (or side).

<sup>1</sup> This mode of resting, uncomfortable as it may appear, is widespread (vide Junker, *Travels in Africa during the Years 1875-8*; James, *Wild Tribes of the Soudan*; Grogan and Sharpe, *From the Cape to Cairo*; Baker, *The Albert Nyanza*, &c.).

<sup>2</sup> *The Uganda Protectorate*, p. 37.

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En-aidura.

484 Enyor naleŋg il-Maasae en-aidura, amu ten emany e-wēji  
[233] nemetii 'n-gujit, neidur aapwo  
ae-wēji netii 'n-gujit.

Ten eidur, neirot i-sirkon  
[492] aapik il-onito oo'l-direta, nepik  
i-malasin atwa 'l-direta, nanap  
i-ŋgorōyok il-benla.

Naa, ten emany e-wēji nemetii  
484 'n-gujit, nemeshetu 'ng-ajijik,  
342 emany il-ŋgobori. Ore 'l-  
ŋgobori naa 'ng-ajijik oo'l-  
onito. Ore ten epwo e-wēji  
netii 'n-gujit kumok, neshetu  
'ng-ajijik.

[462] Naa 'ŋgorōyok naashetu.  
E'yan 'l-loom, nēunōki en-gop,  
neān too-'ng-opit, nepik il-  
kujit. Ore p' eidip, nemur  
too-'mōdiok oo-'n-gishu, o ol-  
ōkidoŋgoi ōshulare 'mōdiok.

'Manyat oo 'l-puli  
loo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

591 Memany il-muran oo-'l-  
Maasae ing-aŋgite, kake  
emany i-manyat eboitare  
nooŋgotonye oo 'sanjan.

343 Ore ten epwo o-sero áinos  
'n-giri, nemany il-puli eboitare  
'singan lenye.

[264] <sup>1</sup> Meat may not be eaten in the manyat, or warriors' kraals, and special  
places, called il-puli, are erected in the woods, to which the warriors retire  
when they slaughter cattle.

The process of moving.

The Masai are fond of moving,  
and if they happen to be staying in  
a place where the grazing is poor,  
they move to another spot.

When they move, they saddle their  
donkeys with skins and pack-saddles  
in which they put their gourds, and  
the women carry bags.

Should they stop in a place where  
the grass is not good, they do not  
build proper huts, but they live in  
the so-called il-ngobori, i. e. in huts  
made of skins. When they go to a  
good grazing ground, they build huts.

The women do the work of build-  
ing. They procure poles, and put  
one end in holes, which they dig in  
the ground; they then bind the  
poles together with cord made from  
trees; after which they cover the  
framework with long grass. When  
they have finished this, they plaster  
the whole of the outside with cow-  
dung and mud.

Masai warriors' kraals and  
slaughter-houses.

Masai warriors do not live in the  
kraals of the married people; they  
have their own kraals, where they  
dwell with their mothers and lovers.

When they go to the woods to eat  
meat, they live in the slaughter-  
houses<sup>1</sup> with their boy-servants.

## A MASAI DWELLING.

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were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader some general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may now conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

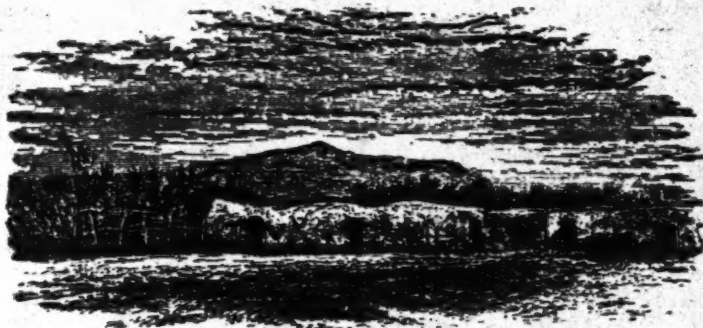
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the hut-were gathered together the goosips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

[842]

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

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MASAI KRAAL, DOWYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

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supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

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Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

## WA-KWAFI VILLAGES.

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elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

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## CHAPTER XI.

## THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

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They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

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The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigrish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki. The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

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361M  
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In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

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Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (see Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (see Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

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*Oi Olakurukur* = The Thunderer and 2nd month ditto.

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*Oi Oirujeruj* = Light showers and 2nd month ditto.*Oi Tumuri*. Meaning unknown and 2nd ditto.*Oi ol Aibor Ari* = The month of the white water

The following are the days of the month :—

1. *Oi Kardet* = Full moon.
2. *Oi Oinyori* = When it rises green.
3. *Oi Onyuki* = When it rises red.
4. *Esobich Naiturugu* = The beginning of the wane.
5. *Esobich il Giporoon* = They wane the scars (!).
6. *Esobich e Nadarhas* = The red wane (!).

The other days are not named. But one may refer to a day as, for example, "the eighth day of the moon," that is, counting from the time when the old moon disappeared. The dark days between old and new moon are called *Enaimin* = the darkness.

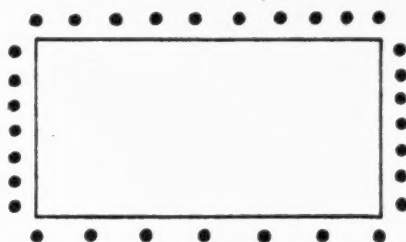


FIG. 2.

*Hut-building*.—The Masai frequently move from one place to another in order to seek the best grazing and water for their cattle. They are therefore constantly deserting old villages and building new ones. If time permits, after the day's march is over and before darkness sets in, each woman sets to work to build a hut, even if it is only to be occupied for one night.

She first cuts a number of straight sticks about 5 feet long and brings them to the place where she wants to build. She takes six of these sticks and marks out an oblong about 5 feet by 8 feet with them and places little blobs of cow-dung (*Emodio*) round it at 9 inches or 12 inches interval (Text-fig. 2). She then drives a hole in the ground through each blob of cow-dung to a depth of 12 inches or so with a pointed stake called *Enaunir*. The cow-dung lubricates the point of the stake and makes it easier to pierce the ground. The holes slope slightly outwards from bottom to top. She then drives an upright into each hole, after which she binds the tops of the uprights to a pliant wand which runs all round horizontally, leaving every fourth or fifth upright unbound.

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Pl. XV, Fig. 1 shows a woman who has put in the upright sticks and bound them with wands on the side furthest from the camera.

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She then passes ox hides between the fixed and the free uprights on three sides to form walls. She leaves the fourth side open at first, but later closes it with a screen called *E-Sos*, which divides the calf pen from the place where the people sleep. *E-Sos*

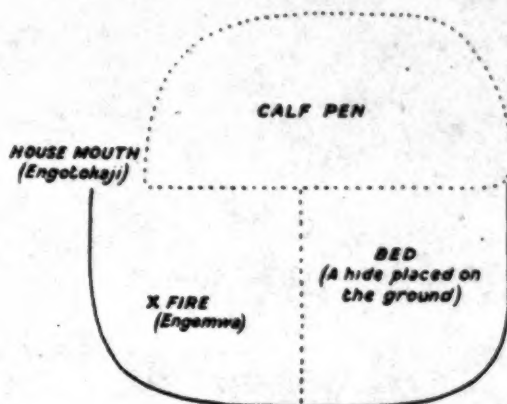


FIG. 3.—GROUND PLAN OF TEMPORARY HUT.

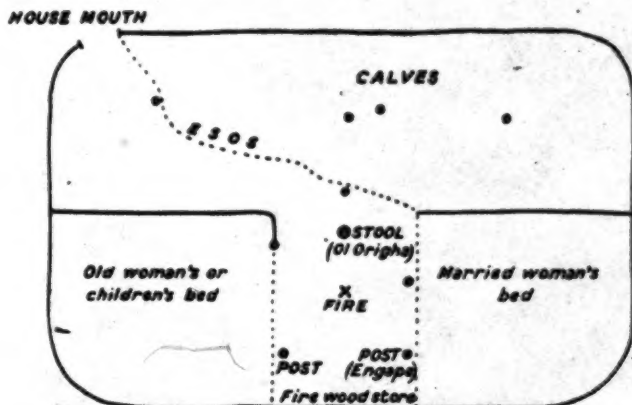


FIG. 4.—GROUND PLAN OF FINISHED HUT.

is made of split bamboo tied together with cord, and may be seen in front of the woman in Pl. XV, Fig. 3.

The hut walls of hides are shown in Pl. XV, Fig. 2. Sticks are then tied across the top from one side to the other. They bend convexly upwards in a slight arch, and skins are laid over them to form a roof. Pl. XV, Figs. 3 and 4 show huts which

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are ready for one night's occupation. Text-fig. 3 shows its ground plan. It takes two to three hours to build. If it is to be occupied for some time the walls and roof are strengthened and the hides are gradually replaced by cow-dung plastered on a backing of *Lelekwu* leaves or other suitable vegetable material. The whole, including the calf pen, is enclosed and roofed with cow-dung plaster. A small hole (*E-Lurye*) is usually made at the top of the wall above the fire-wood store to let out some of the smoke. The beds (*En-Dabash* or *E-Ruat*) are made of hides put on top of poles placed close together and raised about a foot from the ground. Text-fig. 4 shows the ground plan of a finished hut. 342

Grass tufts on the floor are just left to dry up and get trampled out of existence. Repairs are done by the women of the house, and consist in filling up cracks with wet cow-dung. Fleas, bugs and rats are uncommon in Masai huts. Dried puff-balls and dry cow-dung are sometimes burnt as an insectifuge. The young people are not infested with body lice; but these abound on the aged, taking refuge in bead necklaces and other ornaments. 342  
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When the people move on the village is usually left to fall into ruins, but it may be reoccupied later if desired, and if it has not yet fallen beyond repair. 361

[P. 466 is blank]

12. FOR C-5 (1923-1926) 1930

FL12 MARI FL12  
Kampa

*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 12, 1930, Plate 27.*

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FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIGS. 1-4.—POSS STAGES IN THE BUILDING OF A HUT. (See p. 466 R.)

FOURTH NOTES ON THE KAMU.  
[P. 466-C]

## THE MASAI

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In 1832 the Il-Tiamu numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Hamar section called Il-Dagha, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamays, and become rather mixed. According to von Hildebrand they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kibera Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Hildebrand saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyempe Kibera" and "Nyempe Nibaga" in the Tigliah valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamu keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and castration and other ceremonies, and practice the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *marayian*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 20,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Othup to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teitke, however, Nyempe was an important station on the caravan route, and von Hildebrand noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigliah. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.<sup>12</sup> Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamu fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Male who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Othup.<sup>13</sup> They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teitke and von Hildebrand saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of defects in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Galla blood in them.

The Il-Aruwa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Suk stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Rangays in Southern Hamaland are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.<sup>14</sup>

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

## Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *al-ayoni*. At circumcision<sup>15</sup> he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *al-marrai*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *al-parker* ceremony he becomes an elder, *al-marwa*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *al-parker* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

<sup>12</sup> E. H. Dundas, *JRAS*, XL, pp. 49-50.

<sup>13</sup> W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmda," *JRAS*, 1907, LXVII, p. 297; von Hildebrand, II, pp. 139-40.

<sup>14</sup> The people known as Walfara in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Suk stock who have imitated them.

<sup>15</sup> There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hildebrand gives the limits as 15-17 years; Fuchs gives the lower limit as 14 or 17.

631 chief; but in that year it was recognized that he was in fact no such thing, and the  
642 native administration was reconstructed with 14 Native Councils, one for each  
division (Il-Purko, Il-Damat, etc.), to replace the original council of the *ol-ekko*.  
These Councils were composed of *il-ai-gwasak*, elders, and senior warriors; and the  
presidents of each formed a Central Masai Council which met twice a year. Under  
the Councils were 46 headmen, some of them *il-ai-gwasak*. The Reserve was divided  
into nine locations, the numbers of headmen varying according to the population of  
the locations. In 1930 these Councils were replaced by a Native Tribunal and an  
Appeal Tribunal in each of the two administrative districts, Narok and Kajiado, into  
which the Reserve was then divided. The headmen were divided into two grades,  
headmen (styled chiefs) and sub-headmen.

In Tanganyika, the *laibon* was at first regarded as the head of the *Kisonko*; but  
since this recognition proved unsatisfactory to the people themselves, a Masai Council  
was formed as Native Authority, consisting of headmen and elders, but possessing  
only advisory powers. Later, a local council was set up in each area with repre-  
sentatives of age-sets and clans on it; representatives of each local council sit on the  
Masai Council. There are 41 paid headmen.

SOURCES: Krapf, 1854; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Merker, 1910; Whitehouse,  
1933; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication; Hailey, 1960.

## MAIN CULTURAL FEATURES

## CRAFTS

## Housing

342 The Masai hut, *esk-aji*, pl. *isk-ajija*, is a low structure with a flat or flattish  
361 roof. It is made of a framework of poles which are bent over and tied together.  
The interstices are filled with grass or brushwood, and the whole, including the top,  
is plastered over with mud and cow-dung. In wet weather hides are laid on top  
to keep out the rain. Huts are not isolated, but are grouped together in kraals.  
(See above, p. 107.) The huts of the agricultural Il-Tiamus have thatched roofs of  
the normal East African pattern (p. 111). A temporary skin hut called *ol-gobor* is  
used for a temporary halt where pasture is poor.

## Dress and Ornaments (Traditional)

714 Warriors wear a small calf- or goat-skin cape tied over one shoulder, and a  
small back apron of skin fastened to the belt. Their battle-dress consists of a head-  
dress of ostrich feathers or of lion-skin, a cape of vultures' feathers, a cap made of  
a goat's bladder, a calf-skin garment, leg-ornaments of monkey-skin, and a piece  
[301] of goat-skin fastened to the belt. The distinctive warrior's ornament is the horn  
arm-clamp called *e-ras*, which has two points sticking upwards and is worn on the  
upper arm. Warriors also wear ear ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and leg-bells.  
A type of garment called *es-toros* is worn by warriors on certain occasions: Hollis  
says when going on a raid after electing an *ol-awoi* (*ol-awoi*); John Tombo ole  
Mbaei, when they go on a raid after making a vow to conquer or die. Elders wear  
skin garments fastened over one shoulder; rich elders wear ivory arm-rings. Boys  
wear a sheepskin.

291 Married women wear a skin cape and a skin skirt held in place by a broad belt.  
[556] They wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, often on both the upper and  
301 lower arm, and from knee to ankle. All married women wear flat discs of coiled  
291 iron wire, *i-awalia*, hung by straps from the ear-lobes (like the Nandi *tsok*), and  
301 some wear wide collars made of coiled iron wire which stand out round the neck,  
and are about 6 or 8 ins. wide. They also wear a profusion of necklaces and neck  
ornaments. Girls wear skin garments tied at the shoulder and fastened round the  
waist with a belt. They also wear coils of iron wire on the arms and legs, and  
necklaces.

## SHORTER NOTES

## 561 The 'E-Onoto' Ceremony of the Masai. By Lord Claud Hamilton. With three text figures

I35

The cycle of ceremonies connected with the forming of a Masai age set starts with that known as *em-polosata*, performed by the members of the age set immediately senior to the existing warrior set. These members are destined to become the instructors in tribal lore of the youths who are about to comprise the new age set. *Em-polosata* is followed by *en-dungore* which marks the end of the current circumcision. These two ceremonies are followed by a four-day dance of the initiates-to-be called *en-hipata*; and the circumcision of the new age set is carried out over the next three to four years, the youths being 14-17 years of age. Each generation is divided into Right Hand and Left Hand circumcisions; the latter begin their ceremonies about six to seven years after the former, but both cease to be warriors at the same time.

[535]

Seven years after the beginning of their circumcision, the members of the Right Hand Circumcision become senior warriors through the *e-onoto*. This ceremony, which is part of the age-set institutions, is held about every seven years, when an age set of junior *murani* (warriors) feels that it is sufficiently strong and mature to graduate into senior *murani*, and so 'push' the next senior warriors of the previous age set up into adult manhood. The word *e-onoto* is derived from the verb *e-on*, to plant upright or set up (i.e. a new age set of senior warriors is 'set up') and, as will be seen below, certain things are ceremonially 'set up' in the *murani* (warriors' kraal) where the ceremony is held.

Tribal elders choose a site for the ceremony, and there the *murani* who are to take part, aided by their mothers and girl friends, build a new kraal. Each young man has his own hut, a long, low building of withies, mud and cow dung. These are built in a circle, facing inwards. At night branches are pulled into the gaps between the huts to keep out wild beasts which might prey on the cattle sleeping in the arena encircled by the huts.

[342]  
[361]

Besides choosing the site, the elders also select 49 *murani* from those about to take part in the ceremony. These 49 'pure ones' as they are called must be young men of good character, 100 per cent. full-blooded Masai and without physical blemish. Their leader, the *Ot-Onoto*, is chosen secretly and is not told of his appointment until the ceremony is due to start. Every *murani* dreads being called upon to fill the position for the *Ot-Onoto* is regarded as a scapegoat for the misdeeds of his fellows. They believe that if he dies young as a sacrifice for their sins, they will live long and prosper.

[1983]

[346]

[339]

After the other huts have been built, the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' build the sacred hut called *O-Singira*. This is a round building, also made of branches, mud and cow dung, topped with a conical roof of the same materials. Around its base is laid a circle of bullocks' skulls on which are left the horns and a strip of skin running down the face. Inside, in the centre of the *O-Singira*, the *Ot-Onoto* 'sets up' a stick of the wild olive tree (*Olea chrysothylla*) and so receives his name which means 'He-who-set-it-up.' The doorway of the *O-Singira* faces that of the *Ot-Onoto*'s hut, next to which is that of his assistant known as 'The Cutter-up of the Hide.'

The *e-onoto* of the Loita division of the Masai was held on 10-13 June, 1959, at Entasakera in southern Kenya. The youths taking part were of the right-hand circumcision, the members of which are known as *Il-Deregyani*.

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The ceremony lasts for four days, and the first of these is called 'The Day of the Red Dance.' As dawn breaks, all the people assemble outside their huts facing east. Four elders chant a prayer

/22 cont./

613  
[59] Masai, is foreign to them. God rewards them for their virtue by protecting their herds against predatory animals and thieves. It is not supposed to have yet happened that one of their cattle was killed by a lion or otherwise stolen. The El kiborón are particularly esteemed by all the other Masai on account of their ability to cause rain. The author one day saw such a rainmaker at "work" near a Masai kraal. He was lying on the ground under a big leather apron such as is worn by old men, so that one could see only a slight movement of the arms and now and then hear a soft murmur. After a while he stood up and explained that rain would "soon" come. Since I had had rain during the preceding night in the camp six hours away, it is very probable that here, too, it had not failed to appear for very long and thus saved the reputation of that rain artist.

613 The only slight differences in the customs of the El kiborón lineage compared with those of the other lineages will be discussed in the individual sections.

/23/

## II.

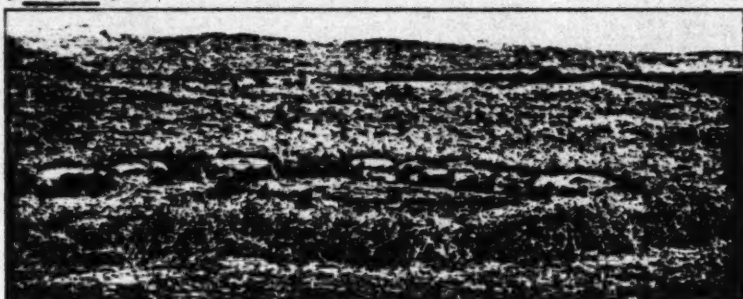
000 Kraal. -- Construction and arrangement of the huts. -- Stall for the livestock. -- Types of kraals. -- Polygyny; the principal wife. -- Property relations, exchange of wares, earnings; family head. -- Expelling and separation of the family members. -- The family kraal. -- Daily life. -- Work. -- Foods. -- Tobacco. -- Honey beer. -- Play. -- Household equipment.

361 In the vicinity of a few shade trees and a small brook the Masai villages lie scattered in the burning hot steppes. They are circular kraals (eng an, ng anfi or eng anasa, ng anás [Fig. 2]), which are formed by a ring of huts (eng adji, ng adjidik) built close to one another. A kraal contains 20 to 50 huts. At two places opposite each other are found the entrances (en giachomi) three to four meters wide. Since the Masai, as nomads, continue to live in one place only as long as they have good pastures for their livestock, the huts are /III. 5 appears here/ built easily and casually out of material available everywhere.

• 342  
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/23 cont./

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133



Merker phot.

III. 5. Kraal on the steppe between Kilimandscharo and Meruberg.

- 342 out of material available everywhere. Like every task in the  
[462] kraal, hut construction is the duty of the women. After the site  
for the individual hut (Fig. 3) is cleared of grass and brush and  
then leveled, the spiral-oval ground plan is undertaken in that  
the woman scratches it on the ground with her foot. They do not  
[804] use any auxiliary means for measuring it; measuring by eye is  
sufficient for the woman who, even as a child, helped her mother  
with this work. Into the ground plan, at foot-long intervals, poles  
342 (ol ōmi, el ōm) about 1 1/2 meters long are stuck in the ground  
335 and joined lattice-like with thumb-thick cross-switches (ol gereni,  
el gerenen). Then in the longitudinal diagonal seven to eight  
supports (em bogischi) are dug in, over which a longitudinal bar  
(ol ereschena, el ereschenan) is put from one end of the hut to the  
other. Over this the poles are arched and the opposite ends lashed  
[284] together with papyrus grass (es sedja). By interplaiting finger-  
[824] thick switches (en jaschoi, n jascho) walls /24/ and roof are made  
342 tight. The lattice-like framework is about 1 1/2 to 1 3/4 meters  
high, 4 to 5 meters long and 3 meters wide. Neats' skins served  
[237] principally for roofing before the rinderpest raged among the  
[731] livestock around the year 1890. Now, /Figs. 2 and 3 appear here/  
[824] when the Masai herds have become vanishing small in contrast  
[237] to former times, the switch framework is first packed with a  
layer of dry, long-bladed grass (ol gudjeda or ol godjeda) 15 to

/24 cont./

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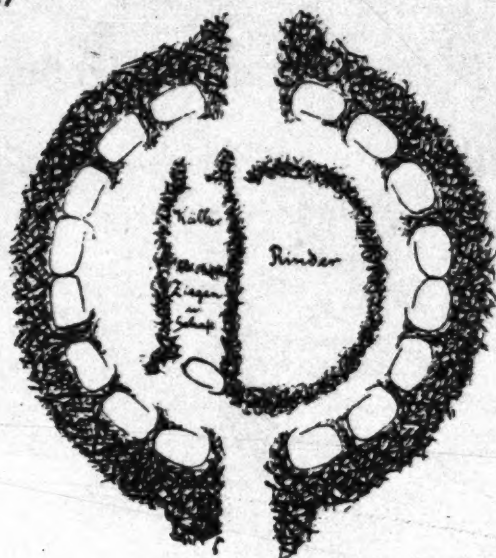


Fig. 2. (1/100).

/Rinder, cattle; Kälber, calves; Ziegen und Schafe, goats and sheep./

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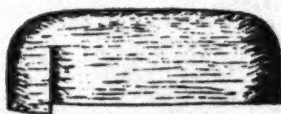


Fig. 3. (1/100).

1. Bed of the man. 2. Bed of the woman. 3. Hearth. 4. Stall for young calves. 5. Household implements. 6. Stall for young goats and sheep. 7. Firewood.

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[237]  
[224]  
[237]  
[354]

20 centimeters thick, and this is then smeared an inch thick with fresh cattle dung (*e modjef, modiok*). For protection against heavy /25/ rain, one at times also puts dried and dehaired neat-skins on that. Toward anyone entering through the door opening (*en gutok eng adji* = the mouth of the hut) thick smoke pours from

/25 cont./

- 342 the nearby hearth (en gema), which is formed by three stones lying
- [354] beside one another in a clover-leaf shape. Good firewood is scarce
- [313] on the steppe; one must therefore use the smoky brushwood. At
- the opposite end of the hut is the sleeping place for the woman (e
- ruat kēē = small bed) and beside it that for the man (e ruat kitok =
- big bed). A latticework of poles and switches, which is covered
- with grass and cattle dung, like the hut walls, close the two off from
- each other and from the rest of the space in the hut. From the

342  
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Merker photo.

### Ill. 6. Masai hut.

The carbine standing by the hut belongs to a soldier of the Protectorate Troops.)

- 342 latter a separate entrance leads into each of these compartments.
- [352] The bed consists of a pad of dried grass over which two dehaired
- [237] neat-skins are spread. Opposite the door is found a small enclosure
- [233] (ol ale l ei ascho) into which young calves are put for the night.
- There is often found beside the door yet another enclosure (ol ale l
- ol balelon) for young goats and sheep, if these are not housed in
- small pens built beside or on the hut.

/25 cont./

- 342 small pens built beside or on the hut. The door opening of the hut is closed off at night by means of a neat's skin hung over it or a thorny branch dragged in halfway.

361 /26/ The individual huts are very close to one another. The space between two of them amounts to scarcely half a meter, so that in the evening the entire ring of huts seems closed except for the entrances. For protection against wild animals and enemies, the kraal is surrounded by a stout barricade of thorny acacia branches, with which the entrances are also obstructed after the livestock has returned from pasture. In the place enclosed by the huts one finds a ring-shaped thorn-barricade in which the livestock stays during the night; large livestock, calves, and small livestock

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[233]

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Meinhardt photo.

Ill. 7. Masai hut. Plastered with cattle dung.

361 /26 cont./

417 are separated from one another by thorn barricades, and the huts  
351 are often protected from damage by the cattle by means of thorny  
824 branches placed around them.  
233

621 One distinguishes between kraals for the married (enġ an el  
361 moruak) and such for the warriors (ol manjata). In the former live  
the married men (ol moruo, el moruak) with their families, in the  
latter the warriors (ol morāni, el morān) with their mothers and  
the half-grown, uncircumcised girls /27/ (en dito, n doje). One  
sometimes also finds several kraals built together into one. The  
author found a village that consisted of five kraals built next to  
one another, three of which were El moruo kraals. A dense thorn-  
barricade extended around the entire kraal complex.

595 The married man on the average has five to six wives, wealthy  
[556] men have in addition also a few secondary wives to whom they  
[736] are not legally married. The secondary wives are made up of  
widows who may not marry again or who have not remarried and



III. 8. Small pen beside the hut.

Merker phot.

• 342  
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/28 cont./

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Merker phot.

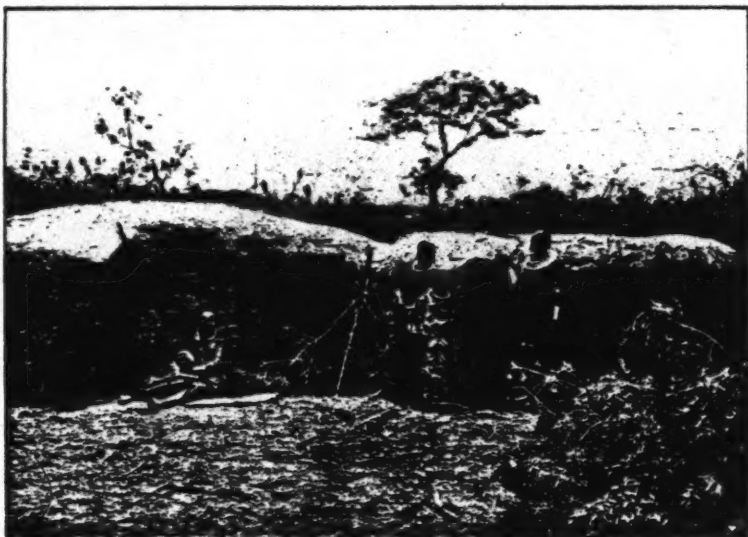
III. 9. Small pen on the hut.

592 What is not used in her own household in the way of milk, meat, and skins /29/ /Ils. 10 and 11 appear here/ /30/ is her housekeeping money, with which she buys vegetable foods and such household objects as she does not make herself. She is not supervised in this in any way by her husband. It is beneath his dignity to interfere in these affairs.

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[887] Approximately every three to six days caravans of old women, accompanied by a few old men and laden with maize, bananas, batatas, etc., arrive in the Masai kraals. Then there begins an hours-long haggling and bargaining with the customary market-woman shouting. Each one tries to sell her goods as advantageously as possible, that is, exchange them for just the articles that she needs. Often the caravans come from a distance of four to five days' march and then remain in the kraal for a couple of days before they set out for home.

/Illustrations from p. 29 of the original source./

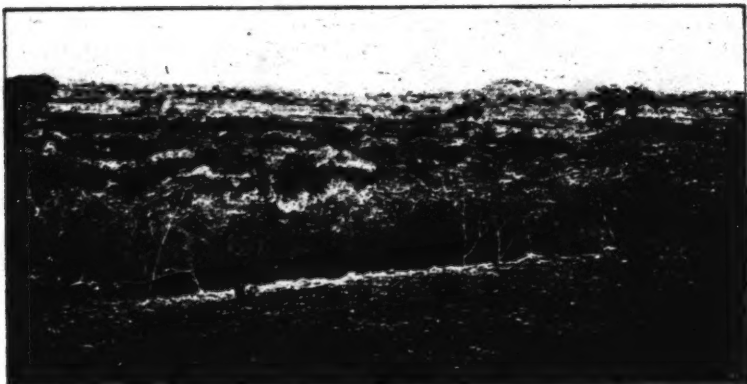
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Merker phot.

Ill. 10. Hut complex.

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 11. Thorn hedge of the kraals.

/39 cont./

352 (ol origa, el origasch), on which people sit to eat. The stool is  
[322] made out of one piece, in that one first roughly hews the block with  
412 an ax and then carves it with the knife. A few cooking spoons (en  
gilligo, 'n gilligoni) (1).

[192] 1. Formed from the Dschagga /Chagga/ word  
gilligo; the Masai do not have a word of their  
own, since they were unfamiliar with spoons  
in former times.

stirring sticks for thick porridge (ol gurtet, el gurteta), whisks (Fig.  
13), 1 ax (Fig. 14) (en dólú, 'n dólú), and a couple of knives  
(Fig. 15) (ol alem) complete the kitchen equipment. Nowadays



III. 14. Woman with pack holder.

412 spoons (formerly only the sticks and whisks) are also carved out of  
[237] wood by older people. The whisk has various shapes; sometimes  
it consists of a stick on whose lower end is stuck a vertebra from a

561 /68/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en ditō, n dōje), is called es siboli (pl. es sibolio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e siēngiki (pl. siēngikin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n akitok (pl. n akitwa) or en daŋgile (pl. n daŋgilēn), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ŋgoroŋoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

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The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol mórúot ol bayan,

ol barnoti to ol mórúot ol bayan,

ol moráni to ol mórúot ol bayan,

ol mórúo to ol mórúot ol mórúo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol moráni lě moráni,

ol barnoti to ol moráni ěřō,

ol mórāni to ol moráni ěřō,

ol mórúo to ol moráni 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

III. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

III. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

/76 cont./

561  
701 According to this, the institution of the age classes together with the existence of the age grades, which were more sharply defined and made more prominent in their meaning by the former, seems so important for the maintenance of a constantly war-ready troop that the thought obtrudes as to whether that institution did not first become formed out of a striving for such a band of warriors.

[703] The warriors' living together as a valuable impetus for comradeship and esprit de corps, in which lies a chief condition for success in war, leads further to celibacy and then to free love; one can see as its sequel the women's society that belongs to an age class. This in turn then is the first step for mother right, of which, indeed, we also find remnants among the Masai.

## X.

000 Introduction of the youths to the warrior life. -- Their first war expedition. -- The *ol oiboni* gives them the name for the age class. -- Shield escutcheon: its individual constituent parts and their meaning. -- The youths become warriors.

701 As soon as the circumcision wound has healed, the circumcised  
702 exchange the long apron (*ol gelá*, *el geláni*) for the short skin-cape  
561 (*e megiti*, /77/ *megitin*), again put on their ornaments, anoint their  
[291] bodies with red paint and, after they have once more shaved their  
[302] heads, set out as *el barnot* (sing. *ol barnoti*, formed from *barno* =  
[411] bald-headed), armed with spear, club, sword, and shield, into the bush to celebrate the *ol geten* | *ol gutul*. Spear, shield, and sword are gifts from their fathers; they have carved the club themselves. As we shall learn later in connection with the warriors, they divide

• [342] themselves into mess-groups of five or six. In the forest they erect a kraal of thorns for themselves or even build small huts out of leaves.

701 The festival consists of consuming large quantities of meat and nothing but meat! For this each participant furnishes a fat ox obtained from his father, which must be plain-colored, black if possible.  
702  
561  
[262]  
[822]

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which  
701 quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which  
361 the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior  
634 kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from  
other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, some-  
times almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and  
several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a  
large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the  
hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are  
staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone  
who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear  
in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often  
sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

621 The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain  
701 huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle,  
462 clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while  
351 the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and  
356 keep the huts clean.

[Warrior Kraal]

/85 cont./ Under a shade tree with thick foliage a spot about 20 to 25 square meters in size is cleared and enclosed with a barricade of branches. During the rainy season in place of this kraal a small hut (Fig. 18) is built out of leaves. Its approximately circular ground plan has a diameter of two to three meters. On the side opposite the entrance opening is the common sleeping place of the ol gibet companions; between this and the door, the hearth; beside the door the space for firewood.

Close beside the sleeping place hangs the stomach or bladder -- from the head of cattle just slaughtered -- filled with an extract of roots and barks that acts as a nerve stimulant and is drunk whenever one is thirsty (ol ooni).

In the vicinity of the hearth the meat supply, is hung on sticks (ol alele). In the vicinity of the warrior hut the serving boys build themselves their own, considerably smaller one. One calls kraal or hut edg adji ol bul. Each ol gibet receives a longitudinal half of the slaughtered head of cattle, from which, however, it immediately gives back the pieces intended for cooking for the common meals of the day. /86/ The picked-out fat is cooked together with this meat, and to the whole are added extracts or decoctions from roots and barks (especially from ol getalassua (1),

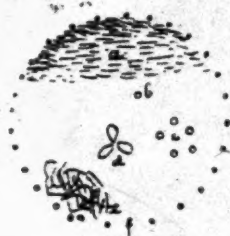


Fig. 18.

- a) Sleeping place.      b) Drinking bag.
- c) Pole for meat.
- d) Hearth.              e) Firewood.
- f) Entrance.

1. Myrica kilimandscharica Engl.

ol giloriti (2).

2. Acacia abyssinica.

515 and so on. The wife is given a specified number of cattle to keep in trust for her son, and she and the children also tend young animals in the herds.

- 342 These huts are about five feet high and of varying dimensions, but usually roughly square and 10 to 20 feet across. The door is very low. Just inside the door there is normally a baffle wall of loosely woven twigs. Beyond that there are often two or three rooms, each divided from the others by a low open wall of
- [231] twigs. Young livestock are brought into one of the  
[513] rooms and the others serve for sleeping and cooking.
- (352) Usually the beds are platforms of twigs and grass covered  
[354] by hides. The cooking fire is in a far corner and is very small, normally with three stones around it to support pots. There is no smoke hole in the roof. The outer walls and roof are an open mesh of wattle often interwoven with coarse grass and shrubs. Support comes from larger branches and small logs up to about six inches in diameter. The exterior and walls and roof, and the insides of the door opening are plastered with
- (184) a mixture of mud, cattle dung, and short grasses. Hut  
[462] design varies slightly from area to area. Constructing the huts is women's work. Men occasionally help in collecting larger trees and bushes.

13\*  
 361  
 • [342] Building a large boma entails cutting a large  
 (Fig. 22)  
 number of trees. Where trees are thick in Western  
 Masailand there are tsetse flies (Fig. 23). Consequently  
 the bomas are constructed away from them in more open  
 country, in open grassland near to hills or watercourses  
 or in open parkland. Under such conditions a large boma  
 can result in the clearance of larger woody growth -- for  
 initial construction, subsequent repair, and for fires --  
 from an area ranging from about several dozen acres to  
 a square mile.

361  
 \*233  
 221 Fosbrooke (1948), Grant (1957), and Page-Jones  
 (1948) have noted that the Masai normally placed their  
 dry season bomas within about five miles of permanent  
 water. One day they graze the animals to and from water,  
 letting them drink. The second day they graze the opposite  
 direction, and on the third day they return to water.  
 Thus a rough circle with diameter of ten miles is grazed  
 around each boma. In the wet season the Masai leave the  
 boma, either setting up a new one in an area of good  
 [887] grazing, or making temporary camps (Ibid.). Occasionally  
 old people with a few milk cows are left behind in the  
 main dry season boma. Under the present conditions in  
 Western Masailand we saw very few large bomas that were

342 not located at permanent water. It may be that increases  
 343 in stock, or decreases in available water, or some other  
 \*233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 133]

\*13  
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Figure 22.

Abandoned boma site in Acacia woodland north of the Serengeti Plain. This was a small boma, abandoned for two years. The remains of the boma are behind the Land-Rover. Note the numerous stumps of Acacias cut for construction of the boma and for firewood; the sprouting from the stump in the foreground; and the ground cover of weeds and coarse grass. The palatable bunch grasses were killed out by overgrazing before the Masai left.

- 342 factor has changed the Masai pattern of home construction.  
343 The present bomas, for the most part, are semi-permanent  
233 and during the rainy season the herds are sent out to  
graze in the care of a few youths supervised by one or  
more elders. They construct temporary brush bomas,  
just large enough in diameter to contain the stock in their  
care. Usually no plastered but is constructed. Indeed  
a small, often open-roofed brush enclosure is made in  
one corner. Where a temporary boma is to be occupied  
for several weeks a somewhat larger boma is made and the  
hut may be plastered. Building these temporary bomas  
results in some brush clearance, but rarely in any tree  
damage.

- 342 Large bomas appeared to be relatively  
(341) permanent. When a large boma was abandoned another was  
usually built nearby, often only a few yards away.  
Individual bomas appeared to be occupied normally for  
about five to eight years, although some doubtless  
last longer. One cause for moving is the accumulation  
• (233) of dung. In the center of large bomas where the livestock  
are driven during the night the dung accumulates into  
a gentle hill sometimes several feet high at the center.  
(347) This creates sanitary problems in the rainy periods since  
the huts are at the foot of this hill and the doors  
usually face inward. When it is dry if a fire gets